

Message Text

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12
ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6122
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BANJUL
AMEMBASSY BISSAU

S E C R E T DAKAR 5062

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, EAID, MILI, GV, SG, IV
SUBJECT: GUINEAN SECURITY PARANOIA

REF A CONAKRY 1538, B ABIDJAN 7234, C DAKAR 4759,
D DAKAR 4945 (ALL NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. GOS WILL TAKE SATISFACTION IN TERMINATION OF
TU95D DEPLOYMENTS IN GUINEA. HOWEVER, SENEGALESE OFFICIALS
ARE SENSITIVE TO POTENTIAL DAMAGE TO GOS INFLUENCE IN NAM
AND AFRICA WHICH COULD RESULT FROM EXCESSIVELY CLOSE
IDENTIFICATION WITH U.S. THIS CONCERN WOULD BE CONSIDER-
ABLY HEIGHTENED IF WE GAVE IMPRESSION WE COULD VOUCH FOR
FUTURE SENEGALESE ACTIONS IN AFRICA. IN
PRACTICE, SENEGAL SEEKS RAPPROACHEMENT WITH GUINEA, AND ITS
SILENCE TO DATE ON GUINEAN CHARGES REFLECTS GOS DETERMINA-
TION TO LEAVE WAY OPEN FOR RENEWED BILATERAL DIALOGUE. IN
ANY CASE, THERE IS NO PROSPECT FOR HIGH-LEVEL CONSUL-
TATIONS WITH SENEGAL ON THIS ISSUE IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE
DUE TO ABSENCE OF PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN
MINISTER UNTIL END OF AUGUST. EMBASSY RECOMMENDS THAT
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WE CONSIDER URGING SEKOU TOURE TO UTILIZE AFRICAN INTER-

MEDIARY FOR HIS APPROACHES TO SENGHOR; THIS COURSE WOULD UNDERSCORE OUR COMMITMENT TO ENCOURAGING AFRICAN SOLUTIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. GOS WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY APPRECIATE KNOWING OF SEKOU TOURE'S ASSURANCES TO US OF HIS INTENTION TO TERMINATE TU95D DEPLOYMENTS. SOVIET USE OF FACILITIES IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES IS OF DEEP CONCERN TO SENEGALESE, AND ANY SIGN THAT THIS ACCESS IS BEING CURTAILED, HOWEVER SLIGHTLY, WOULD BE SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT WHICH GOS WOULD STUDY WITH GREAT INTEREST. ONE APPREHENSION WHICH MIGHT ARISE IN DAKAR IS THAT SOVIETS MAY SIMPLY SHIFT ACTIVITIES TO BISSAU, WHOSE GOVERNMENT SENEGALESE FEAR IS EVEN MORE SUSCEPTIBLE TO SOVIET MANIPULATION THAN THAT OF SEKOU TOURE. IF EMBASSY IS DIRECTED TO APPROACH GOS, WE WOULD APPRECIATE FURTHER BACKGROUND ON HISTORY OF TU95D ACTIVITY IN THIS AREA TO HELP EXPLAIN SIGNIFICANCE OF GUINEAN MOVE.

3. WHILE WE WOULD HAVE NO HESITATION IN DISCUSSING TOURE PROBLEM WITH SENEGALESE, WE ARE NOT COMFORTABLE WITH NOTION OF US UNDERTAKING TO MAKE GUARANTEES TO OTHER GOVERNMENTS ON BEHALF OF GOS, OR EVEN APPEARING TO DO SO. SENEGALESE OFFICIALS ARE SENSITIVE TO POTENTIAL DAMAGE TO GOS INFLUENCE IN NAM AND AFRICAN COUNCILS WHICH COULD RESULT FROM EXCESSIVE IDENTIFICATION WITH US. CLOSE COINCIDENCE OF SENEGALESE AND US POLICIES ON ANGOLA AND ISRAELI EXPULSION AND INDEPENDENT GOS POSITIONS ON WESTERN SAHARA, LAGOS BLACK ARTS FESTIVAL AND ECOWAS LEAVE SENEGAL VULNERABLE TO CHARGES BY RADICAL STATES OF SUBORDINATION TO IMPERIALIST INTERESTS IN AFRICA. WE BELIEVE THAT ACQUIESCING IN IMPLICATION THAT US HAS AUTHORITY TO SPEAK FOR SENEGAL'S FUTURE ACTIONS COULD LEND CREDENCE TO THESE ALLEGATIONS.

4. IN PAST, PRESIDENT SENGHOR HAS VOICED HIS HOPE THAT GUINEA WOULD AGREE TO RENEW PRACTICAL COOPERATION WITH ITS NEIGHBORS. THIS OBJECTIVE IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT FOR IMPLEMENTATION IN CONCERT WITH GAMBIA OF DAMS AND OTHER GAMBIA RIVER DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES WHOSE SUCCESS IS CONTINGENT UPON GUINEAN COOPERATION. SENGHOR'S DETERMINATION TO PRESERVE
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POSSIBLITLY OF RAPPROACHEMENT IS EVIDENT IN FORBEARANCE DISPLAYED TO DATE IN HIS CHOOSING TO IGNORE VITUPERATIVE ALLEGATIONS BY CONAKRY REGIME (REF C). HOWEVER, SEKOU TOURE'S SECURITY CONCERNS ARE UNDERSTANDABLE SO LONG AS THERE ARE MASSIVE NUMBERS OF GUINEAN NATIONALS IN SENEGAL WHO HAVE SOUGHT REFUGE FROM TOURE BY FLEEING TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES.

5. THERE IS PRACTICAL PROBLEM WHICH WOULD COMPLICATE OUR MAKING PROMPT APPROACH AT LEVEL ENVISAGED BY CONAKRY. PRESIDENT SENGHOR HAS JUST BEGUN VACATION IN EUROPE WHICH WILL KEEP HIM OUT OF SENEGAL UNTIL AT LEAST LATE AUGUST. PRIME MINISTER DIOUF IS OUT OF TOWN AND WILL LEAVE SENEGAL AUGUST 10 FOR TWO-WEEK EUROPEAN HOLIDAY. FOREIGN MINISTER SECK IS AWAY UNTIL END AUGUST. ASIDE FROM ASSURANCES OF SENEGALESE INNOCENCE OF GUINEAN CHARGES WHICH ARE QUITE EASILY OBTAINED ON INFORMAL BASIS AT ALL LEVELS OF GOS, EMBASSY BELIEVES MATTER OF THIS SENSITIVITY WOULD HAVE TO BE DISCUSSED WITH PRESIDENT SENGHOR. THIS WOULD DELAY ANY SIGNIFICANT EXCHANGE UNTIL PRESIDENT RETURNS.

6. ALTERNATIVE COURSE OF ACTION MIGHT BE FOR US TO RESPOND THAT WE BELIEVE MORE MEANINGFUL GUARANTEES OF SENEGALESE INTENTIONS COULD BE OBTAINED BY USING AFRICAN INTERMEDIARY WITH GOOD ENTREE ON BOTH SIDES. GUINEANS COULD REVEAL TU95D DECISION ON CONFIDENTIAL BASIS TO SENGHOR AS EVIDENCE OF THEIR PREPAREDNESS TO COOPERATE IN EASING TENSIONS IN AREA, CONTINGENT UPON RECEIVING ASSURANCES THAT GOOD WILL WOULD BE RECIPROCATED. THIS COURSE OF ACTION WOULD PERMIT US TO ASSERT BOTH OUR INABILITY TO CONTROL SENEGALESE ACTIONS AND OUR COMMITMENT TO ENCOURAGING AFRICAN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS.

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